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# S P E E C H

MADE BY A

Member of the Convention of the States

I N

# SCOTLAND.

**W**E are now called together by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, to Consult and Deliberate, what Methods will be most proper, to secure Our *Religion, Laws and Liberties*, in order to which, the first thing that will fall under our Consideration, is the settling the *Sovereign Power*.

I take for granted, that you are fully convinced, that King *James the 7th*, by his many Violations of the Fundamental Laws, by his endeavouring to establish a *Despotick and Arbitrary Power*, and introduce *Papery*, (tho he himself had confirmed all the Laws that were enacted in Favour of the *Protestant Religion*,) has thereby subverted the *Constitution*, and (that our Miseries might have no Redress from him) has left us in a time, when we needed his Protection most. The Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us, and it is in our Power to make our *Selves*, and our *Posterity*, either *Happy or Miserable*, by making a choice either to call back the same King *James*, and hazard once more all that *Men account Dear*, to his Mercy; or to settle the *Government* on some other, under whom we may live *Quiet and Peaceable Lives*, without the perpetual Terror of being swallowed up by *Papery and Arbitrary Government*, which all good Men hoped were now banished, and yet behold a new *Offspring* is sprung up, which plead eagerly for both, tho under the mistaken Names of *Duty and Allegiance*: It's strange that any Man can so far *Degenerate*, as to prefer *Slavery to Liberty*, and that they should be so much in Love with *Chains*, that when they were fairly shaken off, they should run furiously to be *Fettered* again; as if the *Ottoman and French Government* were so charming in our Country, that we cannot live without it, tho we have so lately groaned under the dismal Burden of it: And it might have been supposed that even these, who had been *Instrumental in Enslaving their Fellow Brethren*, and were grown fat with Sucking the *Nations Blood*, would have taken another Method to Reconcile themselves, than by persuading us to purchase their Safety, at so vast an Expence as the *Ruin* of more than three Parts of the Nation will necessarily amount to.

If we do but a little Reflect on the *Motives* which these Men (blinded by Self-interest) make use of, to delude the Nation into a Security that wanted very little of proving Fatal to it, and compare them with the strong Reasons, we have to dissuade us from being so imposed on, they will be found so *Weak and Unpersuasive*, that we must Judge it next to *Impossibility*, to suffer our selves to be *sooner Deceived*. But if the Experience of our former Miseries, so lately hanging over our heads, (the very thoughts

of renewing which, make all good Men to tremble) has not made us *Wiser*, and be not of *Efficacy* enough, to deter us from venturing another *Shipwreck*, and exposing all again to the *Discretion of Roman Catholics*: It's more than probable that GOD has abandoned us, and given us up to believe strong *Delusions*.

First, They will endeavour to persuade us, that Kings are Exempted from *Punishments* here on *Earth*, and nothing they do, can be Quarrelled by their Subjects, which indeed might with some Reason be urged among the *Turks*, who relieve nothing from the Power of their *Sultans*, and where it's Death to dispute his *Commands*, tho never so *Arbitrary and Tyrannical*: But with what Impudence can such Stuff be imposed on us, who never admit our *Kings* to the *Government*, till they swear to Rule us according to *Law*, and no other ways? The *Laws* are the only Security we have for our *Lives and Properties*, which if our *Sovereign* subvert, *Subjects* cannot be blamed, for making use of the ordinary means to preserve them, and since that cannot be done without withdrawing *Obedience* from such a *Magistrate* as goes about to destroy them, such an Act cannot properly be said to punish him, (because we take nothing from him to which he has a just Claim, but do only turn the occasion of making our selves miserable. The *Speculative Doctrine* of *Passive Obedience*, has done too much mischief among us, and what has befallen the King may be justly imputed to it, for the believing that without Opposition he might do what he pleased, encouraged him to take such measures as have drawn all these misfortunes on him.

Secondly, Others are so Fond as to believe, that we may be Secure in calling the King back, provided they so Limit him, that it will not be in his power to hurt us. These men do not consider, how small a Complement this is to a Man of the *King's Temper*, from an *Absolute Prince*, as he was pleased to fancy himself, to content himself with the bare Title of a King; and how insupportable the Change must be, if from being *Master of all*, he must force himself to comply with a thousand *Masters*, and see his *Throne* become his *Prison*. But how airy is it to fancy, that any Restrictions of our Contrivance can bind the King? For 1<sup>st</sup>, It's most certain they can never be Voluntary, and what is constrained and done by Force, is by *Law* declared to be Void and Null; to whose Assistance the *Popes Dispensing Power* being joined, would quickly blow off these *Sampson Cords*, and the *Royal Power* would again revive with all its Vigour and Lustre.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The King is of a Religion that has in a famous Council decreed, That no Faith is to be kept with *Hereticks*, much less with Subjects whom he looks upon as so many *Rebels*, and will not miss to treat them as such, whenever they give him the Opportunity of doing it; for his greatest Admirers do not run to that height of *Idolatry*, to imagine him so much *Angel*, as not to take all methods to revenge so great an Affront, and secure himself at our Cost from such a Treatment for the future; the apprehensions of which resentment will strike such terror in mens minds, that nothing will be capable to divert them from offering up All for an Atonement, and *Papery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but save their Lives. Then we may lament our Miseries, but it will not be in our power to help them; for a *Prince of Orange* is not always ready to rescue us, with such vast Expence and so great hazard to his Person; and if our Madness hurry us so far, we deserve rather his pity than his resentment.

Fourthly, What Arguments has the King given since he left us, to persuade us he will be more faithful in observing his Words and Oaths, than hitherto he has been? Does he not in a Letter lately printed here, expressly say he has ruled so, as to give no occasion of complaint to any of his Subjects? Is not the same Letter signed by one who sacrificed both *Conscience* and *Honour* to *Interest*, whose pernicious and headstrong *Counsels* has posited him to his Ruine, tho' all that has been done cannot make him sensible of it? Sure the reducing *Hereticks* to the See of *Rome* is not less Meritorious than before, nor King *James* the Seventh, by breathing the *French Air*, become less *Bigot*: It were a Dream to fancy it. For so long as the *Vatican* thunders Excommunications against all such as do not use their utmost endeavours to extirpate *Heresie*, a *Roman Catholick* must have no Religion at all, if they be not terrible to him.

The fourth Argument they made use of to persuade such as are and shall be chosen Members of the *Convention*, That it's their Interest to call back the King, is, That the Peace and Happiness of the Nation cannot be otherwise secured, nor Factions or Divisions extinguished. But what Factions do you observe, but such as they themselves do foment, on purpose to disturb our Harmony? all which would immediately die, if the Government were once settled on those who deserved it best: for then, if these Fops continued still fond of *Papery* and *Tyranny*, they would be chastised, as Disturbers of the Publick Peace. The Argument may very justly be retorted; for if the King return, we will burst out into a Flame; and *England*, which has already declared, will quickly be on our Top, an Enemy too Potent and too Numerous for us, tho' we were all united; besides the Danger to which such a Procedure will expose us, we cut off all hopes of an Union with that Nation, and thereby deprive our selves of an unspeakable Advantage, which would redound to all sorts of People, and would be the only means to support an impoverished and sinking Nation. Neither is this the only Inconveniency, tho' it be a very Great One; for if we state our selves in opposition to *England*, by *Restoring* the King whom they *Rejected*, it is not to be doubted but he will use his utmost endeavour to recover that Kingdom, the loss of which is so considerable. Now, seeing it were

vain to suppose that the *Scots* alone were able to second his desires, he must needs have recourse to the *French* and *Irish*, whose Religion will procure a more intire Confidence than His Majesty can repose in any others. These therefore must be received into our Bosom; and because *Scotland* is the most proper place for Invading *England*, it must be the Scene of all the Blood and Confusion that this melancholly thought gives us a Prospect of. And what treatment can such *Sham-Protestants* expect from these, who otherwise would have become their Friends and Allies? And what Figure will they pretend to make, when they set up for a separate Interest from all the *Confederate Protestants* in the World besides?

The happy Success the PRINCE His Enterprize has met with, has made a considerable Alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*; for that great Enemy of the Protestants, and even of Christianity it self, who had propos'd nothing less to himself than an Universal Monarchy, whom the Strictest Leagues and Contracts cannot bind, but without regard to GOD or Man, threatens all his Neighbours with utter Destruction; by the Scene's being changed among us, is so far humbled, that from a Proud and Insulting Enemy, he is become a Suppliant for Peace; well foreseeing, that if *Britain* join with those other Princes, whom his Insolence, Cruelty, and Avarice, has so justly Armed against him, his Ruine is Inevitable: So that if we have not Soul enough to enjoy this great Blessing, and can easily part with the Glory of being once more the Arbiters of *Europe*, let us at least have have so much Christian Love and Charity for the Neighbouring Nations of our own Perswasion, as not to expose them to a necessary Participation of these Plagues, which our Common Enemies are preparing for us, and which will certainly Terminate in all our Destructions.

Lastly, I beseech you to consider what Persons they are who would Install this Poison in you, and you will find them of three kinds. First, those who Poisoning the Common Good of the Nation, are wholly acted by Self-Interest, considering that in a Government where Justice and Mercy equally Flourish, Virtue and Merit, not Villany, will be rewarded. Secondly, They who are ignorant of the Nature of Government, and were never at the pains to inform themselves what Measures the Law of Nature and Nations have set to mens Obedience, but are angry at every thing that thwarts their wild Notions, and will admit of nothing, tho' never so reasonable and convincing, if their dull Capacities cannot reach it. The third sort are such as have been instrumental in the enslaving their Country, and are afraid if they be called to an Account, they may be brought to suffer Condign Punishment; if such cannot succeed in their Design, they at least hope to be overlookt in a General Confusion, so they have nothing unessayed that may tend to their own safety; and if Heaven fail them, they summon Hell to their Aid; not that Love to their Prince, but meer Ambition and Interest, drives these Criminals to such Attempts; neither are they much to blame, if they are at such pains to sow Divisions among us; But no Person of Wit and Judgment, nor any Good Man that is truly Protestant, and minds the good of his Country, will suffer himself to be so grossly imposed on by such Firebrands, who would build their Future Imaginary Greatness on the Ruine of Our Religion, Laws, and Country.